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ABSTRACT

Although alcohol is frequently cited by battered wives and the general public as a cause of marital violence, few researchers actually propose a direct causal relationship between alcohol and marital violence. Interviews were conducted to investigate the role of alcohol in the violent marriages of 185 women and the nonviolent marriages of 89 control women. A comparison of the drinking behaviors of battering husbands and their wives to the drinking behaviors of nonviolent couples revealed that men in all groups drank more alcohol than women, while women were more likely to take prescription drugs. The most violent husbands drank more than other men. In terms of specific violent incidents, wives reported that about half of the violent men had been drinking, and that they had not been drinking before the assault. Most women considered alcohol to be related to violence. The results suggest that these women overestimate the contribution of alcohol to marital violence, perhaps as a way of excusing the violence or making the assaults seem temporary. Additionally, no relationship was found between women's violence and their drinking, while drug use in men was correlated with violence. (Author/NRB)

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THE EFFECTS OF ALCOHOL ON MARITAL VIOLENCE

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There is a common belief that one of the causes of marital violence is heavy drinking on the part of the husband. A common scenario in fiction is a drunken husband coming home and severely beating his wife. Such behavior on the part of the man is at least partially excused because he was drinking. Beatings done by someone who is perfectly sober are less understood and less accepted. Alcohol consumption on the part of the wife is also seen as important in understanding the dynamics of family violence. A woman who is beaten when she has been drinking is more blamed for the violence. Her drunken behavior is seen as provoking the violence; a woman who is sober is much less likely to be blamed for the violence of her husband (Richardson and Campbell, 1980).

It is not surprising that alcohol should be linked to marital violence in our culture since there is a good deal of general evidence that alcohol use generally is related to physically aggressive behavior. Vanfossen (1979) reports that in 14% of all police calls there is explicit mention of drinking. Alcohol use is also reported to be higher in cases of assault (e.g., Mayfield, 1976; Nicol, Gunn, Gristwood, Foggit, and Watson, 1973; Shupe, 1954) and homicide (Virkkunen, 1974; Wolfgang and Strohm, 1957) as well as in crimes in general (Fitzpatrick, 1974; Sobell and Sobell, 1975). Laboratory research supports this relationship even further. Subjects given alcohol in the laboratory who are then given an opportunity to aggress against another subject showed higher levels of aggressive responding than nondrinking subjects (Taylor and Gammon, 1975; Zeichner and Pihl, 1979). However, at least some of these effects may be related to feelings that

socially unacceptable behavior is more permissible when drinking (Goldstein, 1975). Lang, Goeckner, Adesso, and Marlatt (1975) reported that subjects who thought that their drinks contained alcohol were more aggressive than subjects who did not think they had anything alcoholic to drink, regardless of the actual alcohol content of their drinks.

Alcohol may also have physiological effects which would lead to increased aggression. Symptoms associated with intoxication include quarrelsomeness, swearing and cursing, fighting, and a tendency to break things. Alcohol causes a decline in conceptual abilities which can cause a misinterpretation of actions of other people. Also, individuals who already have aggressive or sociopathic tendencies are especially likely to become violent when under the influence of alcohol (Powers and Kutash, 1978). Like other research on violent behavior, research on battered women often shows as association between alcohol and wife battering. One study (Bard and Zacker, 1974) of police calls found that the batterer (who was typically male) was drinking in 30% of the calls for family dispute cases, while the person being assaulted was drinking in 26% of the cases. However, the degree of intoxication was not noted in the police reports. Data was collected on the level of violence which was involved, and the records indicated that in cases where there was clear physical evidence that a physical assault had taken place (through visual inspection of the injuries received), only 21% of the cases showed evidence that one or the other party had been drinking. Alcohol was more rather than less common in the cases where there was less clearcut evidence of violence. Bard and Zacker speculated that rather than a scenario where the husband was drinking and

then beat up his wife and then his wife called the police, a more likely situation was that when the husband was drinking and seemed about to become violent, the wife called the police to prevent escalation of the violence. Similar data were reported in a later study by the same authors (Zacker and Bard, 1977).

Gerson (1978) also found that there was more marital violence in families where one or both spouses had been drinking in his analysis of police records. Overall, alcohol was cited as a factor in a third of all violent crimes. Since 75% of these violent crimes were assaults, alcohol appeared to be related to a greater tendency to engage in fights. Looking specifically at the marital assaults where alcohol use was reported to be present, in 44% both spouses had been drinking while in another 44% only the violent spouse had been drinking. In 13% of the cases, only the victim of the assault was drinking. Although these data are not directly comparable to the Bard and Zacker, (1974) nor to the Zacker and Bard (1977) studies, taken together they do lend strong support to the idea that alcohol is related to family violence, at least for families where police are called in to help settle family disputes.

Another study (Byles, 1978) found a relationship between alcohol and violence through an analysis of records of families who had been involved in family court (often for problems relating to divorce). For these couples, the most frequently cited problem area was violence, usually against the wife. Alcohol related problems were the third most common type of problem. However, there was also more violence in the alcohol problem families. Nearly three-fourths of the alcohol problem families also had problems with violence, while less than a third of the families without alcohol problems

had violence problems. Using an entirely different type of sample, Orford, Guthrie, Nicholls, Oppenheimer, Egert, and Hensman (1975) found that the wives of men referred to a clinic for suspected drinking problems frequently reported that violence was a problem in their marriages. 45% of these women reported being physically beaten and 27% reported that their husbands had attempted to inflict serious injuries upon them. Additionally, 72% of these wives of suspected alcoholics reported being threatened with violence by their husbands.

Research done on battered women also finds a high degree of drinking problems in battering husbands. Summarizing across a number of other studies, Langley and Levy (1977) state that alcohol and drugs are linked to between 40 to 95% of cases of wife battering. On the basis of their review of the literature, they conclude that there are nine common reasons for wife battering:

Mental illness - many wife batterers appear to be psychologically disturbed

Alcohol and drugs - wife batterers have often been found to be drinking at the time of their assault

Public acceptance of violence - physical violence is glorified on movies and in other media

Lack of communication - communication in violent marriages is typically very poor

Sex - sex and violence are often associated in our culture and they often occur together in violent marriages (see Frieze, 1980, for a discussion of marital rape)

Poor self image - battering husbands often feel insecure. By being violent, he can convince himself that he is a real man

Frustration - frustration on the job or elsewhere can be expressed in wife battering

Change - major life changes causes adjustment problems which may also be reacted to with violence

Violence as a resource to solve problems - caused by learning during childhood that violence is the means to get what one wants in the family

Thus, alcohol and drugs are seen as a major factor in themselves for marital violence. They are also implicated under some of the other categories in their descriptions of them. Pizzey (1974) also lists alcohol in her list of four types of wife batterers: alcoholics, psychotics, psychopaths and bullies.

Similar findings are reported by individual research studies. For example, in a sample of 150 women who had called a hotline for help and advice about problems relating to the violence they had been subjected to by their husbands, Roy (1977) found that 85% of the men had alcohol or drug problems. These men were violent, but they were not always drunk when they were violent. Of the occasional drinkers, 80% beat their wives only when drinking. Thus, alcohol appeared as a direct cause of violence only for the men who were <u>not</u> heavy drinkers.

Another study of women in a shelter for battered women found that the largest contributatory factor in the violence was alcohol. 8% of the women and 72% of the men were reported as having drinking problems and 6% of the women and 28% of the men had problems with drug abuse (Labell, 1979). These data support the linking of alcohol and marital violence and further suggest that drug abuse may also be a factor.

There is disagreement, however, about what the role of the alcohol (or drugs) is in the actual violence. Some time ago, in one of the classic studies of violent families, Gelles (1972) suggested that alcohol was used as an

excuse. By saying that the violence was caused by alcohol use, the family members do not have to admit that they are engaging in socially unacceptable or deviant behavior. As we have seen already, many people believe that people who are intoxicated have a period of "time-out" in which they are not expected to follow normal social rules. Behaviors done while drinking are less blamed (at least when done by men) than the same behaviors when sober (Richardson and Campbell, 1980). Gelles (1972) goes on to suggest that men drink to give them an excuse to be violent. He has also found that arguments over drinking can lead to violence (Gelles, 1974).

Walker (1979), in an in-depth interview study of battered women, found that although the battering men were reported to have drinking problems, and the most severe violence was done by alcoholic men, the specific violent incidents did not always involve alcohol. Like Gelles, Walker feels that alcohol serves as a convenient excuse for the battered women.

This study is an attempt to test some of these ideas further in a study of battered and control women. None of the studies discussed above utilized a control sample of families in which there was no presenting problem with the police, with alcoholism, with family violence, or with some other type of social agancy. Thus, it was impossible to determine if heavy drinking in battering men was peculiar to violent men or if it was a more general problem. Also, we asked about drug use as well as alcohol. Although some of the research has mentioned other types of addiction this has not been systematically analyzed in violent families. We also asked about how the couples themselves viewed the role of alcohol in marital violence.

METHOD

Sample

In order to investigate the relationship between alcohol and marital violence, a sample of 137 women who had reported physical violence from their husbands were interviewed about their husbands' and their own drinking and use of physical force with one another. A variety of other questions assessed drug use, background characteristics, power dynamics of the marriage, beliefs about the causes of the violence, help seeking, and other variables. The majority of the women were located and interviewed at one of the shelters for battered women in the Pittsburgh area. Others were obtained from court records of women who had filed legal action against an abusive husband. Some of the women responded to posted notices requesting volunteers for a study of violence in marriage.

For each of these 137 "Battered group" women, a matched control woman was also interviewed. Matching was done by finding women in the same neighborhood as the battered woman. Given the relative homogeneity of neighborhoods in the Pittsburgh area in terms of social-economic status, ethnicity, and to some degree, age, this procedure seemed to be the best strategy we could identify for matching controls to a group which we were not able to characterize until the study was completed and the data analyzed. Whenever possible the same interviewer was used for the battered woman and her matched control.

After the interviews of the control women were completed, we found that 48 of the control women (about one third of them) had also been physically assaulted by their husbands. These women were classified as a separate

"Battered-Control group." In general, these marriages had less violence than the Battered group marriages. The rest of the original matched Control group was then considered to be the formal (nonviolent) control group. For more details on the specific characteristics of the three group,s the Battered, Battered-Control, and the Control groups, see Frieze, Knoble, Washburn, and Zomnir (1980).

Procedure

All subjects were asked to respond to a lengthy structured interview. Interviews took from one and one-half to over sixteen hours, with the majority being two to three hours. Interviewers, who were always women, talked with the subjects after the interviews about their reactions to being in the study. Most of the women were quite positive about their experiences with the interview and reported feeling that their participation had been therapeutic. Subjects who had become upset during their interview were encouraged to talk afterwards about their feelings about the parts of the interview which had upset them. Interviewers attempted to be as nonjudgmental as possible.

At the end of the interview, the purposes of the study were briefly described. Subjects were paid $10 for participation and were given some general information about wife battering and a list of local women's shelters. All questions were answered as fully as possible. Women who wanted more information were sent a summary of the major findings of the study when it was completed.

Coding Procedures

Most of the questions relating to alcohol use, drugs, and violence were precoded into five response categories. Exceptions to this general rule are noted in the discussion of the results. Several questions involved coding open-ended responses to the following questions for mention of alcohol or drugs:

133. Did you understand at the time why he was violent? Why? (asked in reference to the husband's first violence)

141. Now thinking back on all the times he was violent, do you notice any general pattern(s) to his violence, any particular times more than others that you might almost expect it? (asked in reference to husband's violence)

162. Why did he think you were violent? (asked in reference to wife's first violence)

163. Why were you violent? (asked in reference to wife's first violence)

171. Now thinking back on all the times you were violent, do you notice any general pattern(s) to your violence, any particular times more than others that he might almost expect it? (asked in reference to wife's violence)

Coding for mention of alcohol or drug use was also done for a section of the interview involving hypothetical situations subjects were asked to give their opinions on. The following situations were coded:

4. Karen is a married woman in her late twenties. She has two children, and she and her husband have a moderate income. Yesterday, Karen confided to you that her husband beat her up fairly badly last week. Why do you think he might have done this?

7. A close friend of yours named Ruth tells you that her husband has physically forced her to have sex with him several times in their five years of marriage. Why do you think her husband has forced her to have sex with him?

Responses to all of these questions were coded 1 if there was no specific mention of alcohol use in the answer, 2 if alcohol was mentioned, 3 if other drugs were mentioned and 9 if there was no response to the question at all (which occured when the man or the woman or both were not violent).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

General Levels of Alcohol and Drug Use

As shown in Table 1, men in all three groups were reported as drinking more alcohol on the average than their wives, with the husbands of the Battered group women drinking the most. On the average, these men drank almost every day and over one-fourth of them drank every day or drank heavily every day or had drinking binges. Thus, a substantial proportion of these men had serious drinking problems. Men in the Battered-Control group also drank heavily, drinking on the average of several days a week. Control group men drank once a week on the average. 27% of the Control-Battered men and 21% of the Controls had serious drinking problems (drinking every day or drinking heavily every day or having drinking binges).

Insert Table 1 about here

There were no differences in the average levels of drinking in the three groups of women. In each of the groups, women drank on the average of two or three times a month. Using the classification system described for the men, 4% of the Battered group women, 6% of the Control-Battered group, and 7% of the Control group women had a serious drinking problem. The two Control groups together represent a fairly good sample of the general

population in the Pittsburgh area. Thus, our data would suggest that about 25% of the men and 7% of the women in this area have drinking problems.

Along with the descriptions of how much husbands and wives drank, we also asked the women if they felt that their own or their husbands' drinking was a problem. Table 2 indicates their responses. Over half of the Battered group men were seen as having some problem with alcohol; nearly half were seen as having a definite problem. Fewer of the control groups were seen as having drinking problems. About one-fourth of the Battered-Control group men and a little more than 10% of the Control group men were reported as having some degree of drinking problem. These data would imply that our criteria of daily drinking was too strict a definition of a drinking problem. The level of husband's drinking which appeared to correspond with the wives' ratings of having a drinking problem was drinking almost every day.

Insert Table 2 about here

As with the drinking frequency data, fewer of the women reported having a drinking problem than they had reported for their husbands. 31% of the Battered group women felt that they had some problem. Again this was much higher than our criteria of daily drinking would have suggested. Even the 11% of Battered women who reported a definite drinking problem was higher than the 4% who drank daily. For the Battered group, drinking a little more than once a week was rated as representing a problem. On the other hand, Control group women appeared to use the every day drinking measure as their own indicator of having a drinking problem. For the Battered-Control women, the comparable level of drinking was more like a few times a week.

These self-defined drinking data further support the idea that men have more problems with alcohol than women and that the more violent Battered group men (and women) have more problems than men and women from the other groups. It also suggests that there is more tolerance of men's drinking than women's since men had to drink more for their drinking to be considered a problem.

In contrast to the data on alcohol use, when we asked the women if they or their husbands had ever "taken medication or drugs for emotional symptoms, difficulties in coping or other reasons?", we found that women were more likely to be drug takers than their husbands as shown in Table 3. Nearly half of the Battered-Control Group and Control women had taken drugs, and many had done so several times or often. Nearly two-thirds of the Battered group women took drugs. For men, the percentages of drug takers were lower in each group than for the women. About one-fourth of the Control group men, one-third of the Battered-Control men and about half of the Battered group men took drugs. Of the men who did take drugs, however, more of them proportionately were frequent users than women were. Thus, the men in general either used drugs frequently or did not use them at all.

Insert Table 3 about here

The reasons given for taking drugs vary between men and women and by group. For wives who had taken drugs, the most common reason was reported to be anxiety, for all the groups. Physical problems were the next most commonly cited reason (see Table 4). Husbands in the Battered group

reportedly take drugs mainly for pleasure, Control Battered husbands tend to take them for anxiety, while Control husbands appear to primarily use drugs for physical problems. The high use of drugs for pleasure in the Battered group may be further indication of a general addiction problem, especially in light of their heavy alcohol use as a group. However, heavy drinkers were not necessarily heavy drug users overall.

Reported Drinking During Husbands' and Wives' Violence

Women in the sample who had experienced marital violence were asked whether they or their husbands were drinking the first time each of them was violent and the time each was most violent with the other. As shown in Table 5, for the Battered group, slightly more than half of the men were drinking when they were first violent while about one fifth of the wives were drinking on this occasion. Lokking at the Battered group men's worst violence, nearly 60% had been drinking but fewer than 10% of their wives had been drinking. This may suggest that there is some association for these men with their drinking and being violent, but that their violence has nothing to do with the drinking of their wives.

Insert Table 5 about here

Battered-Control men were less likely to be drinking during their first (28%) or their worst violence (33%) than the Battered group men. They also failed to show the pattern of being more likely to drink when most violent. These data would suggest that there is often a relationship between drinking and violence for the Battered group men but not for the Battered-Control men.

Women were generally less likely to be drinking when they were violent and in most cases their husbands were more likely to be drinking than they were. This might be caused by either of two factors. First, many of the women reported to us that when they were violent towards their husbands that it was often in self defense. Thus, her violence may have been initiated by her husband's becoming drunk and violent. Another explanation is that wives became violent during arguments over their husband's drinking. Some indirect support for this idea can be found in Table 6. The majority of Battered group couples had frequent fights about drinking and over a third of the Battered-Control couples at least occasionally had such fights. Unfortunately we did not ask our subjects whether these fights led to violence. An equally plausible explanation is that the Battered group couples drank more, so that they were more likely to argue about drinking. They were also more violent, so that alcohol was more likely to be associated with a violent incident. Further research is needed to clarify these points.

Insert Table 7 about here

General Beliefs About Alcohol Use and Violence

As we have just seen, fewer than half of the Battered or Battered-Control women mentioned alcohol as a causal factor in the first violence of their husbands' or for their own first violence. However, as further shown in Table 7, when we asked them for an overall assessment of the reasons for their husbands' violence, far more of the women spontaneously mentioned violence. Nearly a third of the Battered group and a fourth of the

Battered-Control group felt that there was some association between alcohol use and their husbands' violence. An even greater association was found when we asked them directly if they felt there was a relationship between his violence and alcohol use. As shown in Table 8, over three-fourths of the Battered women reported that their husbands had been drinking at least occasionally when they became violent. Nearly half of them saw this as common. Although fewer of the Battered-Control women reported an association between alcohol and violence when we asked the direct question, still, about half of them saw at least an occasional association and 16% felt that they were often related for their husbands. Thus, when asked the direct question, more women in both groups said there was indeed an association for their husbands. For the Battered group, it appears that alcohol is commonly a factor in the violence. This is somewhat less true for the Control-Battered group.

Insert Table 8 about here

When we further asked the women about the causes of their own violence, there was very little spontaneous mention of alcohol (see Table 7). About 6% of the Battered group women mentioned alcohol and none of the Battered-Controls did. Once again, however, the percentages were higher when we asked them directly how often they were drinking when they were violent as shown in Table 9. About 8% of the Battered group and 14% of the Battered-Control group said that they were at least sometimes drinking when violent. These data also represent a reversal of the typically higher rates of drinking in the Battered group.

Insert Table 9 about here

Along with the questions about their own use of alcohol, we also asked the women to tell us why they felt that a hypothetical woman might have been battered by her husband and why another hypothetical woman might have been raped by her husband. As shown in Table 10, alcohol was less often mentioned here than it had been when asked about the causes of their husbands' violence. Only 20% of the Battered women and 17% of the Control-Battered women mentioned alcohol as a factor in the hypothethcal battering situation and fewer than 5% in either group mentioned it for the marital rape situation. The lower rates of alcohol being mentioned could be explained in three ways: (1) the women used alcohol as a convenient excuse for their own drinking; (2) the women felt that in general alcohol is not a cause of marital violence even though it is seen as a factor in their own marriages; or (3) since the hypothetical questions were asked first, there had been no prior questions about alcohol use and the women may not have been alerted to consider alcohol as a causal factor. Again, further research is needed to clarify this.

Drug Use and Violence

We also asked a number of questions about drug use and its relationship to violence. First, recall that men tended to take drugs more for pleasure while women took them for anxiety. We coded for mention of drugs when we asked about causes of violence but this was very rare (Table 7). The three times drugs were mentioned was in reference to Battered group men. More

reports of violence were elicited when we asked directly about this. As shown in Table 8, over a third of the Battered group men were seen as frequently being violent while high on drugs. This was not found for the Battered-Control group men. Thus, being high on drugs or alcohol was associated with the Battered group men but not the Battered-Controls. Women were less likely to be violent while using drugs, perhaps because their drugs were more often tranquillizers. However, the percentages of drug and violence association for women (about 5%) was comparable to that for alcohol use and violence (See Table 9).

Interrelationship of Alcohol, Drug Use and Violence

Results thus far have been somewhat ambiguous about why Battered group men show the strongest associations between alcohol, drug use and violence. Other analyses (Frieze, Knoble, Zomnir and Washburn, 1980) based on the same data show that alcohol use is higher across both Battered groups for men who are more violent. To look more carefully at what aspects of the violence were most important, stepwise regression analyses were done to see which aspects best predicted the husbands' drinking behaviors. As shown in Table 11, men who drank more tended to be generally violent inside and outside the home. These men were the most violent to their wives. They also had wives who tended to win arguments and who fought back in self-defense when they were violent. These variables together accounted for nearly 25% of the variance in men's alcohol consumption.

Insert Table 11 about here

The stepwise predictors of the wife's drinking were quite different (Table 12). Women who drank more had husbands who fought with them in self defense and when the men were violent, they also more often fought back against them. The heavier drinking wives were more likely to be violent to them. These variables together accounted for only about 10% of the variance in the women's drinking. Thus, factors relating to violence in the family were less important for understanding the drinking of women than of men. For men, it does appear that alcohol and violence are associated. Since there was a correlation of .24 between the drinking of the husbands and the wives, it may be that part of the apparent relationship that does exist for the women is partly a function of their being more likely to be married to a heavily drinking husband.

Insert Table 12 about here

As a final test of the association between all of these variables, a factor analysis was done. Results of a solution with a minimum eigenvalue of 1.5 and factors rotated with a varimax rotation are presented in Table 13. The first of the five factors appears to be the male alcoholism factor. High loadings included the husband's drinking, his drinking being seen as a problem, having disagreements over drinking and the husband being drunk when he or his wife was violent. The second factor has items relating to the wife's drinking when she or her husband is violent. However, her overall

drinking does not load over .25 on the factor. Instead, Factor 4 appears to represent a pattern of the wife drinking and using drugs and being violent to her husband. Within these types of marriages, the husband is violent only in fighting back against her violence. Factor 3 appears to be another male alcoholism factor. Items loading here include drinking and drug taking in the husband along with a high level of violence to his wife and children. This factor also includes marital rape and sexual pressuring. Wives in these marriages also tend to be violent to their husbands and the children. Thus, Factor 3 may represent the stereotypic violent family. Factor 5 appears to represent male drug taking, being violent while on drugs. These men do not fight in self defense, but their wives, although not especially violent, do fight back in their own defense.

Insert Table 13 about here

Although factor analytic studies are always to some degree exploratory, in conjunction with other data discussed earlier, these results would suggest that men who do drink heavily are usually violent to their wives as are heavy drug takers. However, as demonstrated by Factor 3, the most violent men were not necessarily the heaviest drinkers. Although their drinking was seen as more problematical, it was not as heavy as the drinking represented by Factor 1. Perhaps this was because the violence was overly attributed to the drinking. Other data has suggested that violent men may have problems with impulse control (e.g., Walker, 1979). This does appear to be the case for the Factor 3 men.

These factors also indicate that alcohol and drug use may be somewhat associated for some women but the association is much weaker than for the men. In fact, female drinking appears to be related to an entirely different set of factors, given these data, the regression findings, and the data reported earlier in the paper.

CONCLUSIONS

As we have seen, consistent with other research on battered women, there was a high rate of alcohol problems among the battering husbands, especially among the men married to battered women who had specifically identified themselves as battered. For these women, alcohol was involved in over half of the specific incidents we asked them to tall us about, and over 63% told us that their husbands were "sometimes," "usually" or "always" drinking when they were violent. However, only about a fourth of this group specifically mentioned alcohol to us when we asked them an open-ended question about the causes of their husband's violence. This may suggest that the women themselves do not see alcohol as the primary causal factor in the violence even though it is clearly correlated. Factor analytic results support his idea since the most generally violent men were not necessarily the heaviest drinkers. These men appear to have problems with impulse control and the wives often attribute their husbands' violence to to their own disturbed personalities.

Another pattern of battering which we identified seemed to represent the more stereotypic idea of an alcoholic husband occasionally being violent. Here the alcohol problems appear to be more pervasive than the violence and presumable treatment for alcoholism would greatly help the situation.

In the former case, this would probably have little effect.

A third pattern of violence appeared to represent couples who fought when drinking but who were not especially heavy drinkers and were not violent. Presumably, these couples felt there was less of a problem in their marriages.

A fourth pattern of male violence was related to drug taking. This has been little discussed in the literature, but it does appear that the role of drugs and violence deserves more study.

Finally, we found some cases of women who were violent when drinking or when taking drugs but whose husbands were not violent except in self defense. This may represent the "battered husband" syndrome. However, it should be noted that little physical damage occurred in these marriages. The severe violence was nearly always associated with male violence (Frieze, Knoble, Washburn and Zomnir, 1980).

Although our data do show that the relationship between alcohol and violence is not always a direct one, we did not find support for Roy's (1977) finding that moderately drinking men were the most violent. Moderate drinkers were equally violent as heavy drinkers.

Finally we find that alcohol and violence is much less associated for women. Most of the previously cited research on the association of alcohol use with general types of violent behavior has used male subjects. We find little concern in the literature to test the commonly held association with female subjects. Our own research supports the idea that this relationship holds for men but not for women.

We also found more overall drinking in men than women but less tolerance for female drinking. Women who drink are seen as out of role and are blamed more for being battered (Richardson and Campbell, 1980). They also

see themselves as having a problem with lower levels of alcohol consumption. This is especially true for the Battered group women. Other literature points to their low levels of self esteem (e.g., Walker, 1979) and this may only be another indicator of this.

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TABLE 1

Frequency Of Alcohol Use

	Sample Group		
	Battered	Control-Battered	Control
Husband			
Never	4%	6%	11%
Once a month	13%	15%	24%
Once a week	22%	40%	32%
Almost every day	23%	13%	11%
Every day	16%	23%	18%
Heavy use or binges	22%	4%	3%
Wife			
Never	12%	17%	18%
Once a month	42%	38%	40%
Once a week	32%	33%	26%
Almost every day	10%	6%	9%
Every day	3%	6%	7%
Heavy use or binges	1%	0%	0%

TABLE 2

Perceived Drinking Problems

	Degree of Problem			
	None	Might Be	Some Problem	Definite Problem
Husbands'				
Battered	43%	6%	7%	45%
Battered Control	75%	2%	13%	10%
Control	87%	3%	3%	6%
Wives'				
Battered	69%	6%	14%	11%
Battered Control	85%	6%	4%	4%
Control	94%	5%	-	1%

TABLE 3

Frequency of Taking Drugs

	Never	Once	Two or Three Times	Several Times	Often
Husband					
Battered	58%	6%	8%	6%	22%
Control-Battered	68%	13%	2%	6%	11%
Control	74%	4%	2%	4%	16%
Wife					
Battered	38%	18%	15%	12%	17%
Control-Battered	50%	11%	-	22%	17%
Control	56%	15%	5%	6%	19%

TABLE 4

Reasons Husbands and Wives Take Drugs

	Battered	Control-Battered	Control
Husband			
Depression	23%	13%	13%
Anxiety	48%	67%	22%
Physical Problems	23%	20%	57%
Pleasure	59%	20%	17%
Alcohol Treatment	5%	13%	4%
Wife			
Depression	31%	21%	18%
Anxiety	70%	71%	60%
Physical Problems	20%	33%	28%
Pleasure	18%	-	8%
Alcohol Treatment	2%	-	3%

TABLE 5

Husbands' and Wives' Drinking and Violence for Specific Incidents

Percent Drinking

	Husband		Wife	
	Battered	Control-Battered	Battered	Control-Battered
His Violence				
First	49%	28%	17%	4%
Worst	57%	33%	8%	19%
Her Violence				
First	40%	21%	9%	7%
Worst	51%	31%	10%	13%

TABLE 6

Reported Arguments Over Drinking

	Battered	Battered-Control	Control
Never	27%	45%	64%
Rarely	11%	21%	20%
Sometimes	24%	19%	9%
Usually	13%	4%	5%
Always	24%	11%	2%

TABLE 7

Unprompted Association of Alcohol, Drug Use and Marital Violence

	Alcohol Mentioned	Drugs Mentioned	No Specific Mention	No Response
Husband's first violence				
Battered	8	1	127	1
Battered-Control	3	0	44	1
Husband's overall violence				
Battered	35	2	92	8
Battered-Control	6	0	23	19
Wife's first violence - Husband's view				
Battered	2	0	106	29
Battered-Control	0	0	30	18
Wife's first violence - Wife's view				
Battered	1	0	108	28
Battered-Control	1	0	29	18
Wife's overall violence				
Battered	5	0	78	54
Battered-Control	0	0	18	30

TABLE 8

Wives' Perceptions of Husbands' General Drinking and Drug-Taking During Violence

	Percent Drinking	
	Battered	Battered-Control
Alcohol		
Never	23%	49%
Rarely	15%	21%
Sometimes	17%	15%
Usually	20%	3%
Always	26%	13%
Other Drugs	Percent Using Drugs	
Never	52%	73%
Once	7%	20%
Two or Three Times	4%	7%
Several Times	9%	-
Often	29%	-

TABLE 9

Wives' Perceptions of their General Drinking When They Were Violent

	Battered	Battered-Control
	Percent Drinking	
Never	71%	82%
Rarely	21%	4%
Sometimes	5%	7%
Usually	1%	-
Always	2%	7%
	Percent Using Drugs	
Never	85%	78%
Once	8%	17%
Two or Three Times	3%	-
Several Times	3%	6%
Often	1%	-

TABLE 10

Association of Alcohol and Drug Use with Hypothetical Cases of Wife Battering and Marital Rape

	Alcohol Mentioned	Drugs Mentioned	No Specific Mention	No Response
Wife Battering				
Battered Group	27	0	105	5
Battered-Control Group	8	0	40	0
Marital Rape				
Battered Group	4	0	127	5
Battered-Control Group	2	0	46	0

TABLE 11

Violence Characteristics Most Related to Husbands' Drinking

Item	Multiple R	R^2 Change	B
Husband fights outside the home	.37	.14	.308
Husband violent generally	.43	.04	.171
Husband hurts wife when violent	.45	.03	.300
Wife generally wins arguments	.47	.01	.187
Wife fights back in self defense	.48	.01	.103

TABLE 12

Violence Characteristics Most Related to Wives' Drinking

Item	Multiple R	R^2 Change	B
Husband fights back in self defense	.23	.05	.557
Wife fights back in self defense	.26	.02	.116
Wife has used violence toward husband	.29	.01	-.161
Wife hurts husband when violent	.31	.01	.117
Wife threatens violence	.32	.01	-.110
Husband has used violence toward wife	.33	.01	.266

TABLE 13

Alcohol, Drug Use and Violence Patterns

	1	2	3	4	5
Husband's drinking	.67	-	-	-	-
Husband's drinking seen as a problem	.77	-	.29	-	.27
Wife's drinking	-	-	-	.42	-
Wife's drinking seen as a problem	.44	-	-	-	-
Couple has disagreements about drinking	.78	-	.32	-	-
Wife takes drugs	-	-	-	-	-
Wife takes drugs to relieve anxiety	-	-	-	-	-.29
Husband takes drugs	-	-	-	-	.53
Husband takes drugs for pleasure	-	-	.29	.38	-
Husband's overall violence to wife	.34	-	.67	-	-
Husband's overall violence to children	-	-	.47	-	-
Wife's overall violence to husband	-	-	.63	.25	-
Wife's overall violence to children	-	-	.34	-	-
Husband fights in self defense	-	-	-	.34	-.28
Wife fights in self defense	-	-	-	-	.30
Husband violent when drunk	.85	-	-	-	-
Husband drunk first time he was violent	.68	.30	-	-	-
Wife drunk - Husband's first violence	-	.65	-	-	-
Husband drunk during his worst violence	.79	-	-	-	-
Wife drunk - Husband's worst violence	-	.58	-	.35	-
Wife violent when drunk	-	.78	-	.32	-
Wife drunk first time she was violent	-	.79	-	-	-
Wife drunk - Wife's first violence	.77	-	-	-	-
Wife drunk when most violent	-	.80	-	.30	-
Husband drunk - Wife most violent	.78	-	-	-	-
Husband violent when taking drugs	-	-	-	-	.58
Wife violent when taking drugs	-	-	-	.64	-
Husband pressures wife to have sex	-	-	.60	-	-
Husband rapes wife	-	-	.40	-	-
Wife pressures husband to have sex	-	-	.27	-	-

Loadings over .25. 5 factors = 51.4% variance. Minimum eigenvalue = 1.6.